

PLATE VII.

291
353
513
516



Interior Views of a Kol House. Bedding and Clothes in Centre; Dewahar to far left.

415
778



Closer View of the Dewahar showing evidences of Worship.

251
415



A jar used for the storing of Grain inside the House.

[Facing p. 18]

512 stand in the stream up to their hips with their saris still draped around
515 them, and if there is a possibility of men in the vicinity, also cover
their heads. Water is poured over them or they may immerse them-
selves. Ordinarily no soap is used, in fact the use of soap is not common
to village people, though it is not unknown. After the bath the women
come to the shore and by first draping a fresh sari about them slip off
the wet one without exposing themselves. They do not dry them-
selves with any towel, though the hair may be rubbed dry with some
cloth. Oil is sometimes applied to the body. They next wash the
512 sari they have removed, which is done by beating it with a stick on
[296] a flat stone. After being wrung out it is taken home to be hung up
somewhere about the house to dry and be ready for use the next day.
The sari put on at the time of the morning bath is constantly worn
until the next bath. The bather may now take a bit to eat, or oc-
[267] casionally she may have her morning meal, though it is more usual
for her to wait until the men have been fed or she takes what is left.
The husband usually returns from work about mid-day and gets his
meal; but if the work is heavy and he must be there, she will take it
out to the fields to him, where he will eat it and, after a short rest,
resume his work. If the work is pressing, she may remain to assist
[784] him, though she should never touch the plough. She may reap, weed,
[241] and thresh, and she carries home the rice and wheat which has been
threshed. During the hotter months field work begins before
daylight, and the men are back by ten o'clock. In the threshing
season the work continues steadily throughout the day, for that is the
time when the hot winds are active and the chaff is easily separated.
[515] The men may bathe on their way back at noon, or in the evening before
[264] their evening meal. If they return from the fields at dusk, the evening
meal is usually not taken till after eight o'clock. Unless there is some
[513] social event such as preparations for a wedding or a tribal feast, or,
perhaps a religious ceremony, the Kols are asleep by about nine at
night. On religious and social occasions, however, the whole night
[527] may be spent in singing, watching the women dance and chatting.
The social events occur usually in the slack season and work is not
interfered with; but under industrial conditions there is a limit to
night operations, and the singing is usually over by midnight.

[857] The children have their tasks too. The boys, as soon as they
are old enough, herd cattle and goats in the forest, gather sticks, leaves
and roots, and run errands for their mothers. The girls assist their
mothers in the home, gather cow-dung for use as fuel and as plaster
for the walls and floor.

The main variations of this routine are occasioned by social

MATERIAL CULTURE : HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

81

requirements or by religious observances. They do much to break the monotony and to provide a change.

512

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES AND UTENSILS. Beds and cots are seldom, if ever, found in Kol houses. Those who dwell near cities, or work in the industrial centres sometimes own a cheap rope cot called a *Akatiye*. The head man of the village may own a cot or two, and when one visits a village, this is often brought for the European guest to sit upon. The usual place for sleep is the mud floor of the dwelling. A blanket or mat may be all that is underneath, while in the hot weather



AKATIYE

Fig. 5

352

[369]

[622]

[574]

513

not even this is availed of. Pillows are not used, but if it should be desired that the head be raised, it is probable that a small wooden stool a few inches high will be employed.

352

Chairs, tables and the like, are never found. Anything that must be put away and cannot be hung over the rafters or the bamboo poles stretched across the walls is placed in a wooden chest. One usually finds some kind of a small box about the place which is locked. Valuables, however, are usually buried in a hole in the floor and the same completely *lepoed* to hide all trace of the spot.

The main articles in the house are those connected with food and drink. Gourd vessels are occasionally used as receptacles for storing water, but more commonly such vessels are made of earthenware or brass. Kols do not make either of these. The earthen vessels may be purchased cheaply in the bazaar from people of the Kumhar caste—the traditional potters. Food is also stored in them and in one of the Kol sub-divisions, the *Kurkar*, food should only be taken from a particular type of black earthenware dish. As a rule the various kinds of earthenware vessels are being replaced all over village India by those made of brass and aluminium.

415

[323]

325

[439]

[251]

[178]

The stone implements are the grindstone and the *sil*. The former consists usually of two pieces of round stone, although the bottom stone may be squarish. The upper stone, which is slightly smaller, is about 16" in diameter. It has a peg for a handle by which it is rotated. There is also a hole into which the grain is poured, though often the stone is simply lifted and the grain spread out over

412

days it grew to be so tall that no Kol could mount it. They did not know what to do, and the only thing that they could think of (being jungle people) was to take an axe and shorten its legs. This they were about to do when the horse disappeared. A variant story of the above is that the horse given by Bhagawan had a peculiar power which made it impossible for Kols to ride upon it. At one moment it would be so small that it would run right out from under the man who was riding it, leaving him standing in the way; on other occasions it became so tall that no one could climb upon it. Once, when it was in the latter form, a Kol in desperation took his axe and started to cut about the legs of the horse, but before he could actually do this it was snatched away by Bhagawan. Since then Kols have never used horses, for they were "deceived" by Bhagawan. They claim that they will never touch the dung of the horse, "not even if we are beaten." They have no taboos in the case of cow dung.

The Bhatias, a tribe of cultivators, probably Mundas, found mostly in Jubbulpore district have a similar story which is recorded by Russell and Hiralal as follows:

They have an aversion for the horse and will not remove its dung. To account for this they tell a story to the effect that in the beginning God gave them a horse to ride and fight upon. But they did not know how to mount the horse because it was so high. The wisest man among them proposed to cut notches in the side of the animal by which they could climb up, and this they did. But God, when he saw it, was very angry with them, and ordered that they should never be soldiers, but should be given a winnowing fan and broom to sweep the grain out of the grass and make their livelihood in that way.¹

Some Rautiyas also have a taboo against the use of mattresses or quilts made from pieces of old clothes. They also seem to have a very definite taboo against the use of gold as an ornament, although it was often stated that this custom is passing away. It is not that they cannot touch gold, for this they may do, but they should not wear it on their persons. The reason for this goes back to Sheori the mother of Kols who would never touch gold. They now consider that this was probably a mistake on her part and that Bhagawan does not mean that Kols should avoid its use. This taboo is not observed by most of the Rautiya women, who use gold if they can afford it.

In the course of our investigations it became apparent that other

¹ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229.

564
773
784

171
564

564
784
[513]
[513]

564

The Khangars of Central India have a tradition akin to the one related of the Thakuriyas, of a slaughter by a Bundela Rajput after they were made drunk.¹ This may be an altogether different story but probably belongs to the same period when the Rajputs came into Bundelkhand. No first-hand accounts were obtained by us which would shed any light on the origin of this *kurhi*. 564

5. *Garhvariya*. While this name occurs eight times in the list of Kol subdivisions nevertheless we found only one living specimen in spite of the fact that there were said to be many of this group around Jabulpore. This particular Garhvariya came to us in a group of Thakuriyas and Rautiyas and was the butt of their jokes. He was short and dark and had a very flat nose, much broader than is usual with Kols. The other *kurhis* said to his face that they would have nothing to do with him socially. When asked about himself he said that he was a Rautiya who had the misfortune to be born out of Rewa State and hence was called a Garhvariya. The other Kols present would not agree that this was the real situation. Garhvariya is considered unclean and no other sept will take their girls or give them their own daughters in marriage. They are mainly employed as field labourers. It is not unlikely that we met others, but they would not admit that they were Garhvariya.

6. *Mawasi*. Very little was to be ascertained from the Kols about this group. They seem to be a very "low" *kurhi*, and do not even call in a Chamarin to act as midwife and cut the cord of the newly born infant, doing such work with their own hands. They are so low that no social intercourse is possible with Kols like Rautiyas and Thakuriyas. They are considered the most despised of all the Kols and "live just like Basors who are outcastes and make baskets and keep pigs." 844

The Munda tribe known as the Korkus and found in the Satpura hills of south central India are sometimes called Mowasis.² Regarding Korkus Russell and Hiralal state that the sept names of the Korkus are in many cases identical with those of the Kols and Korwas, which may mean that they are an offshoot of "the great Kol or Munda" tribe. The word "Mowasi" has reference to the largest of their subdivisions but its derivation is uncertain. The Census Report for the Central India Agency says: "The Mowasis were reputed to be a fighting section of the Kols."³ 704

7. *Kathariya*. This *kurhi* takes its name from *kathri*, a mattress 564

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 439.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 439.

3 *Census of India*, 1931, II: 1, p. 237.

554
783
582
464

844

554

704

564
513

564 or quilt which they make from their own worn-out clothes or even
513 from the cast-off clothes of others. These quilts and mattresses are
[787] used in place of blankets and other forms of bedding usually found in
[554] villages, and present a ragged sight when taken out in the sun to air.
The Rautiya Kols have a taboo for the Kathariya mattress. Rautiya
Kols generally despise this *kurhi* because they do menial work, but this
cannot be the main reason.

114 All the evidence that we were able to collect indicates that
513 Russell and Hiralal are incorrect in their conclusions regarding the
564 Kathariyas having the mattress as their totem. They say: "A
member of this sept (Katharia) must never have a mattress in
his house nor wear clothes sewn in cross-pieces as mattresses
are sewn. The word *kathri* should never be mentioned before him as
he thinks some great misfortune would thereby happen to his family,
but this belief is falling into abeyance." The actual facts which we
have carefully checked seem to be the exact opposite.

564 8. *Khairwar*. This is probably the same as a group in Chota
Nagpur known under the slightly different name of Kharias. In the
year 1937 Sarat Chandra Roy¹ published in two volumes a complete
and comprehensive study of this important group. The Khairwars
in the Central Provinces seem to be a mixture of jungle tribes and are
often confused with the Gonds. Russell and Hiralal say that the most
probable derivation of the name is from the *khair* or catechu tree
(*Acacia catechu*) from which catechu, "any one of the several dry,
earthy, or resinlike, astringent substances got from certain tropical
plants and used in tanning and dyeing" is manufactured. We were
[314] given this same information: this group is called Khairwars because
its members make *khair*. They are also said to be a low type of Kol
and this work is despised as a profession for now-a-days it is done
[554] only by primitive jungle dwellers. It is not unlikely that a group of
Kols at one time were active in preparing *khair* and so received this
name, but it is more probable that they are somehow related to the
Kharias of Chota Nagpur.

9. *Kulmangan*. This is another of the so-called lower types of
Kols, the name being derived from *mangna*, "to ask." It appears
[735] that during the time of birth, marriage, death, or special religious
functions, members of this *kurhi*, if such it may be called, make it a
practice to ask alms from Kols. On certain occasions they are said to
[534] play the *sarangi*—a one-stringed musical instrument. There is no

¹ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 310, see also Vol. I, p. 91,
§ The Kharias,

SOCIAL STRUCTURE I. MAIN DIVISIONS OF KOLS

43

possibility of marriage with higher Kol groups. It is not at all unlikely that the name is not the title of a *kurhi*, but rather of a type of Kol who, though he may belong to any *kurhi*, uses the above occasions for making a little extra money. One informant assured us that Kulmangans were really Rautiyas. 564

10. *Swasaha*. The word probably is a corruption of *swastha*, meaning self-reliant, independent. When the word is applied to Kols the inference is that they do not follow the Hinduized customs of most of their tribe in regard to the calling in of the Brahmin priest, the *nai*, and the *dhobi*. All these matters are cared for by some member of their own community, usually one of the elderly persons. We came across one who claimed to be a *Swasaha*, but as a group they were never found. Some evidence was found which would indicate that this is not a distinct *kurhi*, but is rather something remaining from earlier times. If any family or group is independent of the *pandit*, *nai* or *dhobi* in weddings and the like, they may be called *Swasahas*. We found evidence which leads us to believe that there are *Swasaha* Rautiyas. The lower *kurhis* are probably mostly of the *swasaha* type. Nevertheless most of the Kols believe and claim that this is a distinct *kurhi*. [184] [793] [487]

11. *Bhumiya*. The word literally means 'born from the land' or 'aboriginal.' It is also a title of the Bharias, a Munda tribe residing in large numbers in the Jubbulpore district. At present the Bharias are usually associated with the Gonds and are probably very much intermixed with them as the number of names and sub-divisions would indicate. We were unable to elicit any definite information from the Kols about this *kurhi* save that *Bhumiya*s may sleep either on beds or on the ground. This same title is also found among the Baigas and the Korkus, and the Gonds have a subdivision of this name. *Bhumiya* and *Bhuiya* are synonyms. [77] [513]

In connection with the Kols the name may have arisen as a nickname, or a title given to Kols who held land. Certain tribes and some Hindus are said to employ the term *Bhuiya* as the equivalent for *Zamindar*.¹ There are thus *Bhumiya*s by tribe and also by title. Roy has written a book on the Hill *Bhuiyas* of Orissa.² They are also Mundas and in view of this fact it is not strange that some Kols should either bear the title of *Bhumiya* or belong to the *Bhumiya kurhi*. A *Bhuiya* subcaste bears the name of Rautadi, which is not far removed from Rautiya.

12. *Murha*. Russell and Hiralal state that this is a caste of [61]

¹ 1912, Vol. II, p. 906.

² Roy, S. C., *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa*, 1928.

342 many rooms and consequently they cannot maintain strict decency
in living with their wives when the children grow up." But the
phenomenon is too widespread and is linked with too many factors
[574] to really bear this explanation. The house for the boys is as a rule
the village guest house as well and at its centre there is a pole which
is sometimes carved and differs in this respect only from other homes.
The girls usually sleep with an elderly widow in another portion of the
[513] village. In some places it is reported that the boys and girls sleep
together huddled "higgledy-piggledy." We found no trace of these
conditions among the Kols, though they may exist among those who
live in close contact with other tribes who practice such customs.
When Kols were asked how they managed to get along with one room
and many children they replied that somehow they could tuck them
all in. The absence of separate quarters strengthens the family tie
[593] and helps to make it a more stable and important unit. There was
[182] also no trace of sexual segregation, such as the separating of the husband
and the wife, which would also tend to weaken the family.

1 Majumdar, B. C., *The Aborigines of Central India*, p. 22.

2 *Annals of India*, 1921, vol. 1, p. 412.

789 Iron is, on the whole, probably the most common of protective metals;
 823 and while some put copper above iron, nevertheless in the case of the
 Kols, iron appears to be more widely used than copper. The use of iron
 takes many forms. A woman should always have a bit of iron about
 her as she is usually exposed to evil influences more than are the men
 folk. This may take the form of a bracelet, an anklet, a ring on the
 finger, or an iron ring about the neck. Again it may be just a piece of
 the metal tied somewhere in the garments or on a string about the waist.
 [755] A sick man should always have iron about him to prevent further demon-
 ic influences during his period of helplessness. An iron 'key' is a pro-
 [513] tective and even nails in shoes are useful in this respect. A piece of iron
 ought to be under the head as one sleeps and iron nails are often driven
 into the four corners of a wooden cot should the Kol sleep on one. In
 [585] the case of children iron helps to repel the evil eye. At the wedding
 time the bridegroom carries iron about with him, and iron is found
 in the wedding booth.

Iron protects houses from the entry of evil spirits and makes
 [342] their habitation there impossible. Therefore, when a house is built
 iron is buried under the floor, particularly near the threshold. Even
 though unseen by the human eye it will influence the demons and
 [775] they fear to enter and abide in the house. Perhaps bhuts are thought
 of as still living in the stone age and dreading the new-fangled iron
 and its power to break the strongest things of which they know.

789 Lac, obtained from the gum of the *Khairwar* tree (*Acacia catechu*),
 [314] and prepared in the form of bangles and beads, averts the evil eye and
 wards off spirits. This is variously coloured.

Lampblack is widely used for children and protects them from
 the evil eye. While it disguises them and renders them less attractive,
 [751] it also has the practical purpose of protecting the eye from the glare
 of the sun. The lampblack, mixed with oil to make a paste, is placed
 just below the eyes and often gives the child a weird and unnatural
 appearance.

789 Leather is a very common devil-scarer throughout India and has
 237 its uses for the Kols, such as the custom of employing it in connection
 291 with the building of houses. For protection, in this instance, an old
 shoe will generally be found stuck somewhere about the wall which
 is being built. This is apparent in the picture appearing in connection
 with building customs.¹ If they can be afforded, leather shoes with nails
 [484] in them are a double protection, and no Kol goes on a long journey with-
 out taking a pair of country shoes with him even though he seldom uses
 them. He will carry them hanging from a stick or in his hands.

¹ See plate VIII.

737

Opening his eyes in the morning and seeing a cow, or observing a cow before he gets up.
Coming across the roller bird (*Coracias indica*).

Bad omens include :

Meeting a person carrying an empty vessel of any kind.
Seeing some newly broken pots the first thing after stepping out of the house in the morning.
Meeting a *lali*, or member of the oil-making caste; but if he smiles so that his teeth are seen, it is all right.
Involuntary sneezing just as one is starting out anywhere.
Observing a dead body either being carried or just lying by the roadside, as in the case of an animal.
To see a jackal crossing the road from either direction.
To meet any deformed person.
To hear an ass braying or a dog howling.
To be startled by the sudden falling of a branch or tree.
The bark of a fox at night means a death in the village before dawn.
To see a crow sitting on the back of a pig or on a man's head.

787

774

828

513

SLEEP AND DREAMS. Animistic tribes and castes pay close attention to dreams. Kols believe that dreams are evidence that souls wander about over the earth during the hours that one is unconscious in sleep. The soul may then wander far and wide, but no one is ever really able to trace its movements. In a split second it can go great distances and is in no way limited by space. And yet, though the soul wanders about, it does not entirely sever its connection with the body, else the person dreaming would die. Kols believe that a thin thread something like a telegraph wire always connects the two. The soul, even though it is far from the body, is still conscious of what is going on at the house as long as this connection is not tampered with.

During the period when a soul is wandering here and there it may be attacked by an evil spirit. This attack is made known to the body through the thin thread, and the result is that the body talks, groans and shouts in its sleep, the intensity depending upon the seriousness of the attack. At such a time the person should be awakened, though not too suddenly, for this will force the soul to return and the possibility of its being injured will be avoided. If the sleeper should not be awakened, the spirit will return eventually, but will doubtless be injured, perhaps fatally.

SLEEP AND DREAMS

197

A sleeper should never be awakened rudely or directly, for to do so is dangerous to him and may bring a curse upon the person awakening him. If it is found necessary to awaken another person a noise should be made from a distance and should gradually be increased. This gives the soul time to get back. Kols believe that if one dies in his sleep it may be due to the spirit being overcome by a demon and the thin cord connecting the two being broken. A man awakened suddenly may also collapse due to the fact that the one awakening him did so before the spirit had time to return to the body and his connections were cut off. 513 774 [76]

Dreams are good and bad, not merely in the sense of being pleasant or unpleasant, but their significance is either favourable or unfavourable. It is good to dream of elephants, Kols say, and of meeting relatives. Dances are welcomed as a part of a dream by some Kols, and others do not attach a good significance to them for they believe somewhat in opposites. Weeping, for example, is good for it means that happiness will come, and to dream of copper coins (the cheapest) is a sure sign that one will get silver ones. To dream of a death is also good, for it means that some one who is ill will soon be well. But it is bad to dream of a dead body or of wood or clay, for these things indicate that there will be a death in the family. Happy experiences in dreams may really mean that tragedies are ahead, and so to dream of a wedding or a hearty laugh is not good. While a dream of copper portends riches, to dream of gold or silver or jewels and ornaments, has the opposite significance. To dream of snakes or fish is also a bad omen. 787

We asked a number of Kols whether they ever dreamed that they were flying, but none ever had.¹ One said that he had often dreamed of riding a bicycle, though in actual life he had never ridden on one. Another Kol, working in a lime kiln, described a dream in which he went to the house of the superintendent of the kilns and when he entered he found everything he had ever wanted to eat all spread out on the table before him. He said that while in his dream it made him happy, he nevertheless knew that it probably meant that he would be hungry before long.

The gods and goddesses often reveal through dreams the kinds of gifts and sacrifices they would like Kols to give to them. If a *devi* should appear in a dream and demand a chicken or another animal, it would be necessary for the person to offer this. Sometimes the *devi* is asked at the shrine to reveal her will to the person in a dream. 776 787

¹ Elwin records dreams of flying among the Baigas. *Op. Cit.*, p. 412.

513 Kols generally say that they, unlike the Hindus, are not particular about the direction of their head when they sleep. Inside
823 their own houses they can make their couch in any direction. When they sleep outside, however, they should lie with their heads to the east. And yet, further questionings have revealed, that most Kols have a definite prejudice against sleeping with the head to the north, whether inside or outside the house. No doubt this is because the dead are placed in that position.

[764] 231 ANIMALS AND TREES. *Animals.* Among the Kols there is an exaggerated respect for the cow and it is said that she is the most
825 sacred of all animals. To kill a cow is to commit a great sin, much worse even than killing a Brahmin. In the strictest sense it is murder,
[673] and anyone killing a cow even accidentally should make a pilgrimage to the Ganges and offer a gift to the river. On his return he is required
[627] to give a feast to the community. Kols as a rule are not rich in cattle
574 and those they possess are a poor lot.

825 The palm squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*), is very commonly found in the villages and frequents the houses of people. Kols have a great respect for this creature and some would even rank it above the cow, for, one said, to kill such an animal was as bad as killing a hundred
[773] Brahmins! Popular legend has it that when Rama was building his bridge from India to Ceylon in order to rescue Sita, these squirrels helped him by bringing dust on their tails. Rama was pleased with this act of devotion and stroked the backs of the squirrels and to this
[627] day the marks of his hands can be seen in the black strips on their
574 backs. Any one who happens to kill a squirrel should give a feast. Boys will never shoot nor molest them.

231 The cat is likewise revered by Kols and is usually called *mai*,
825 mother. In the ordinary sense Kols do not keep nor care for cats; they are just a part of the village and roam it freely in search of food while no one claims particular ownership. Sometimes they multiply to an alarming extent and in one village it was discovered that no chickens could be raised due to the presence of the cats who killed and ate the younger chickens. No effort was made to change this condition nor rid the village of the cats. That would be a breach of
[183] custom.

[783] The dogs too are the general property of the village. To Indian villagers the dog is often an impure animal, but this is not true in the case of the Kols, for the touch of the dog is not defiling. He is a village watchman, and in a sense a custodian of their safety, as he gives the village warning should strangers approach. To slay him is to slay

825 The *galgal* or *mains* (*Acridotheres tristis*) is believed to be engaged, but not yet married, and is called a *brahmacharia*. He is never injured, Parrots are never molested, for some of them can speak and utter Ram! Ram! One legend, recorded in another place¹ has it that the *Sath Bhaïs* gave the Kols their gift of music.

[773]

824

[776]

[778]

• [513]

Trees. Among the Kols trees are revered largely in connection with worship. The *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*) appears to be the favourite tree of the Kol tribe. It is the home of Khermai, the chief deity, and every Kol village or community has a *nim* tree under which the major shrine of the village is found. It has already been noted that this tree has certain magical protective powers and medicinal properties. Demons seldom, if ever, take up their dwelling in a growing *nim* tree, and it is considered healthful and safe to sleep under one.

[778]

824

776

The *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) are also sacred to Kols and it is not infrequent that they put shrines under them. However, these trees are more liable to shelter evil spirits than is the *nim*, and Barandeo is often found in them. We were told about the growth of a certain *pipal* tree in one of the villages which we visited. It appears that Barandeo wanted to live on the veranda of that house so he saw to it that a *pipal* tree began to grow there. The leaves of this tree, however, were repeatedly eaten off by goats but still it grew. The people who lived there then realized that this must be the work of some deity and cared for it. As a result it grew and good luck came into the house. Kols will never destroy a young *pipal* tree even though they know that eventually it will destroy the building. Hutton, in writing about the survival of primitive belief, says the following in connection with the *pipal* tree:

824

171

We may therefore continue to expect to find very ancient and primitive beliefs continuing under the guise of Hinduism. The sanctity of the fig tree, for instance is possibly to be associated with the beliefs of the Negrito inhabitants who appear to have formed the earliest population of India. It is possibly on account of its milk-like sap that the *fig* is associated with the fertility cults in Africa, Italy and New Guinea as well as in Assam and in South India, and it is generally also connected with the spirits of the dead. This cult appears to be shared by the Andamane who are an approximately pure Negrito race, and perhaps the only race still surviving in the world comparatively unmixed in blood. At any rate they and their beliefs have probably been isolated for some 5000 years at least.²

824

776

As far as Kols are concerned the mango tree (*Mangifera indica*) and the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) are not commonly inhabited by either

¹ See Chapter X.

² Census of India, 1931, 1: 1, p. 397.